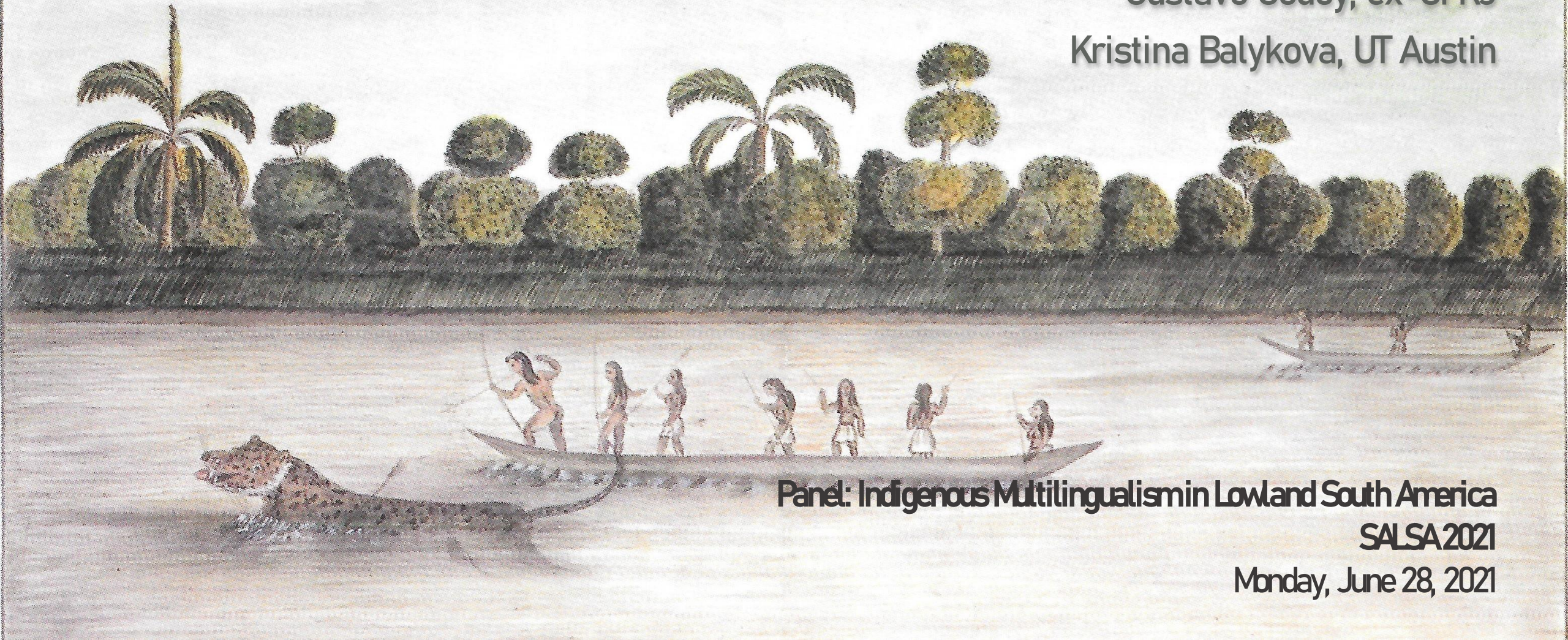


Multilingual Pantanal & its decay

Gustavo Godoy, ex-UFRJ

Kristina Balykova, UT Austin



Panel: Indigenous Multilingualism in Lowland South America

SALSA 2021

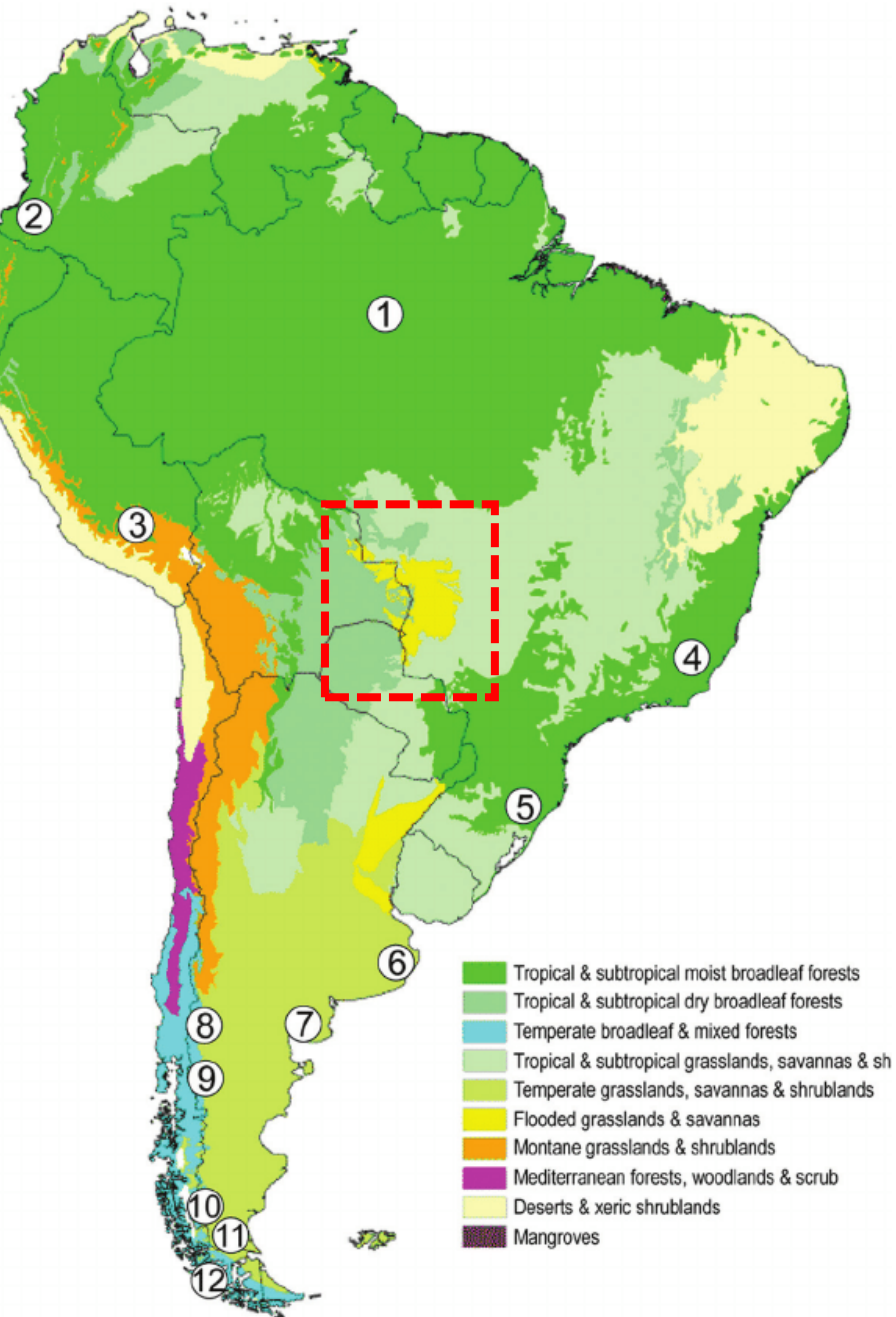
Monday, June 28, 2021

Outline

- What is the Pantanal?
- Current ethnolinguistic situation;
- Archaeological evidence;
- First contact between the Pantanal groups and colonizers;
- Jesuit missions;
- Indigenous armed resistance;
- Expansion of cattle farms;
- Ethnolinguistic ideologies;
- Final considerations.

Indios Payaguas.





(Fontana et al. 2012: 1205)



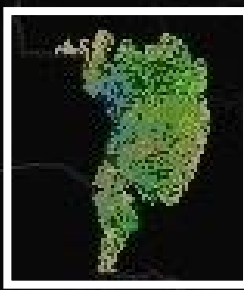
What is the Pantanal?

- Watershed of the Upper Paraguay and São Lourenço rivers.
- Plain region of flooded grasslands and savannas.
- Confluence area of diverse ethnic groups:
 - Arawakan southmost group (Terena);
 - Guaicuruan northmost group (Kadiwéu);
 - “central” area of Guaranian expansion;
 - isolates / unclassified languages.

SURINAME

BRAZIL

Pantanal



BOLIVIA

PARAGUAY

URUGUAY

SURINAME

BRAZIL

Indigenous Territories of the Pantanal



4,5% of the overall
Pantanal territory

BOLIVIA

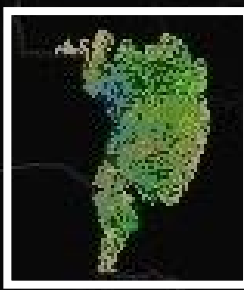
PARAGUAY

URUGUAY

SURINAME

BRAZIL

Pantanal



BOLIVIA

PARAGUAY

URUGUAY

SURINAME

BRAZIL

Cattle farms in the Pantanal



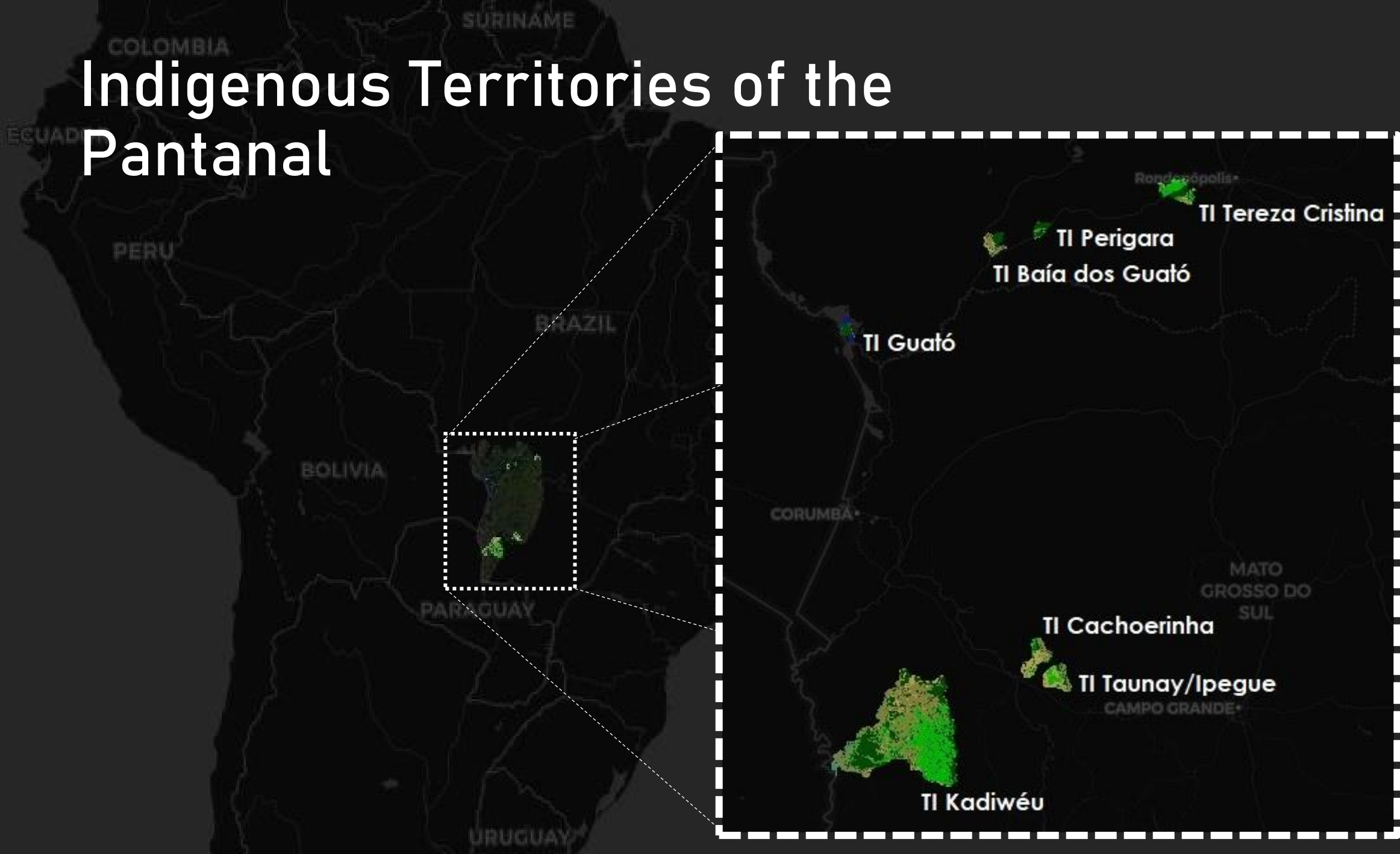
15,6% of the overall
Pantanal territory

BOLIVIA

PARAGUAY

URUGUAY

Indigenous Territories of the Pantanal





Indigenous Territory	Ethnic groups
Kadiwéu	Kadiwéu Kinikinau Terena Chamacoco
Taunay/Ipegue	Terena
Cachoerinha	
Guató	Guató
Baía dos Guató	
Perigara	Bororo
Tereza Cristina	



Languages	Speakers in Brazil (overall)
Bororo	≈700 (Nonato 2008)
Guató	2-3 fluent speakers (our research)
Kadiwéu	≈1000 (Sandalo 2017)
Kinikinau	<7 (Oliveira 2017)
Terena	≈8400 (IBGE 2010)
Terena sign language	at least, a few dozen (inferred from Sumaio 2014)

Spoken languages	Language family
Bororo	Bororoan
Guató	isolate
Kadiwéu	Guaycuruan
Kinikinau	Arawakan
Terena	

Archaeological evidence: phases of occupation

- 8.390–3.060 BP: no occupation in flooded grasslands
- 4.000 BP: mounds in flooded grasslands, surrounded by *acuri* palms
- 2.800 BP: Pantanal ceramics
- 1.300–800 BP: Arawakan “diaspora”:
agricultural groups
- at least, 680 BP:
Guaranian westward migrations

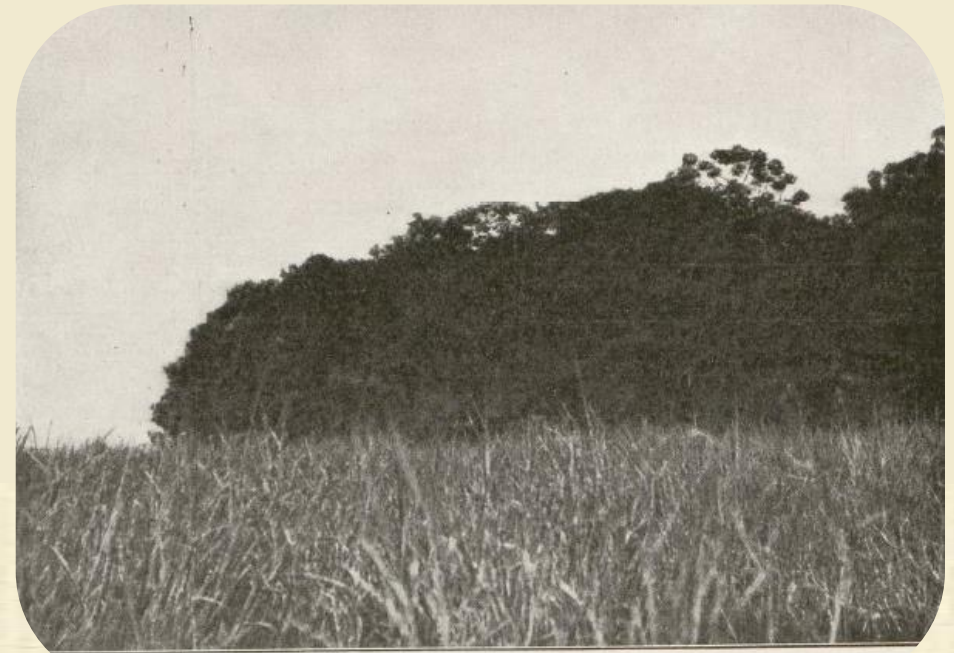
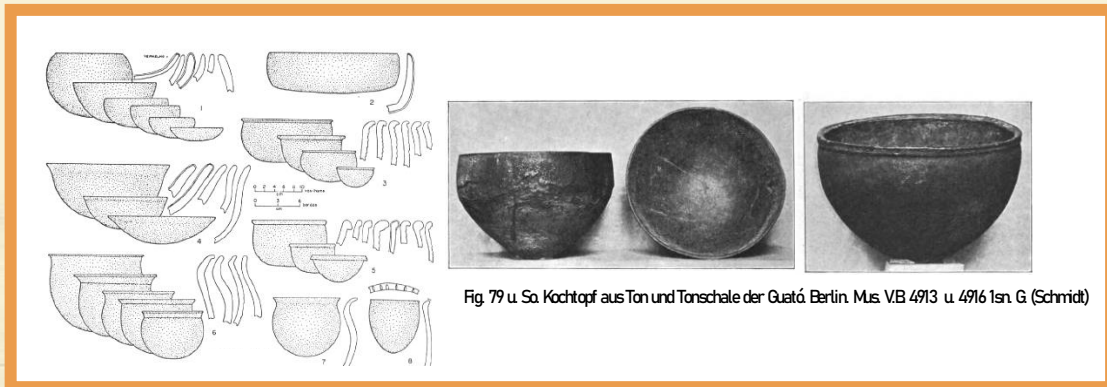


Fig. 2. Der größere Aterrado am Caracara-Fluß.

Ceramic morphology and settlement patterns

Pantanal ceramic technology

- One of the oldest and most continuous ceramics outside the Amazon;
- diversity in styles (different groups);
- domestic use for cooking;
- used by fishers and gatherers, such as the Guató.



Descalvados ceramic technology

- open shapes for griddling;
- big volumes → ritual and public use;
- used by agricultural peoples, such as the Xarayé;
- brought by the Arawakan “diaspora”.



16th c.: Indigenous peoples of the Paraguay river



Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
Nafragios y comentarios (1555)



Ulrich Schmidel
Reise in der neuen Welt (1567)



16th c.: Indigenous people of the Paraguay river

- 21 ethnonyms (Cabeza de Vaca)
- trade networks:
 - canoes, bow and arrows, blankets;
 - slaves, women;
 - gold, silver.
- two types of settlements:
 - "each one lives for himself, with his wife and children" (Schmidl)
 - "a village of about 800 houses", "a village of about 1000 neighbors" (Cabeza de Vaca)



16th c.: Indigenous people of the Paraguay river

- alliances against the Guarani

“[...] todas as nações dali se reuniram e vieram contra os de sua nação, matando-os, desbaratando-os, perseguindo-os por todos os lugares.”

- ... and against the Spaniards

“[...] tentaram matar os cristãos que ali haviam ficado[...] fizeram um chamamento a todos os índios da terra, inclusive aos guaxarapos, que já eram nossos inimigos, bem como a muitas outras nações de índios.”

“[...] vieram fazer a guerra e todo o dano possível aos espanhóis, tendo se reunido a eles os índios guaxarapos e os guatos, que já eram nossos inimigos.”

(Cabeza de Vaca)

16th c.: Indigenous people of the Paraguay river

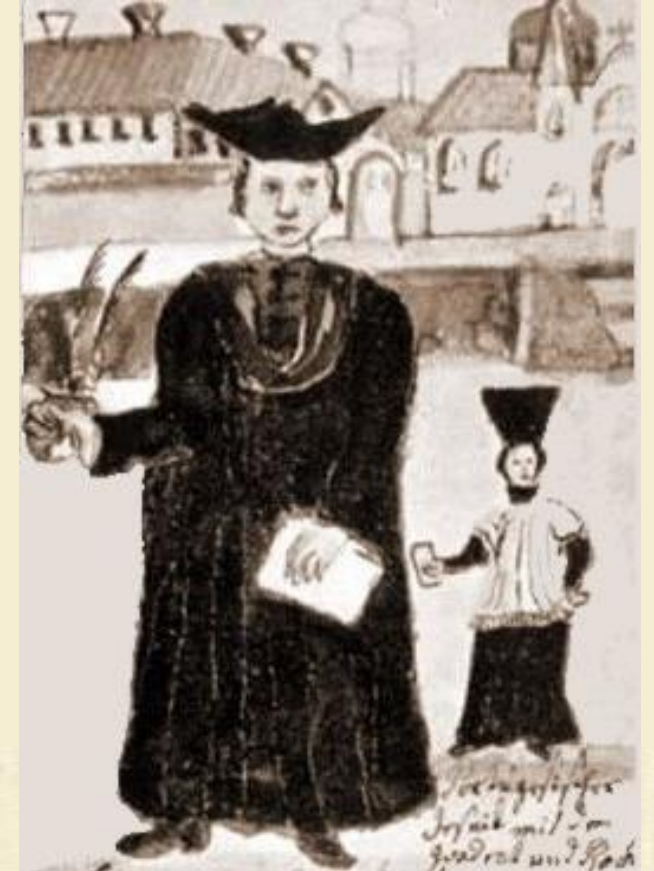
- lingua franca(s)?

Letter by a Jesuit missionary, late 16th c., Santa Cruz la Vieja

“[...] ils se mirent à l'étude des langues qui leur paraissaient le plus utiles: l'un avec son clerc apprit la langue gorgotoqua [...] l'autre la langue guarayú (varae).”

“deux autres apôtres leur furent adjoints qui se mirent à apprendre l'un la langue gorgotaque, l'autre la langue des Chané.”

(Métraux 1929: 929-930)



16th c.: Indigenous people of the Paraguay river

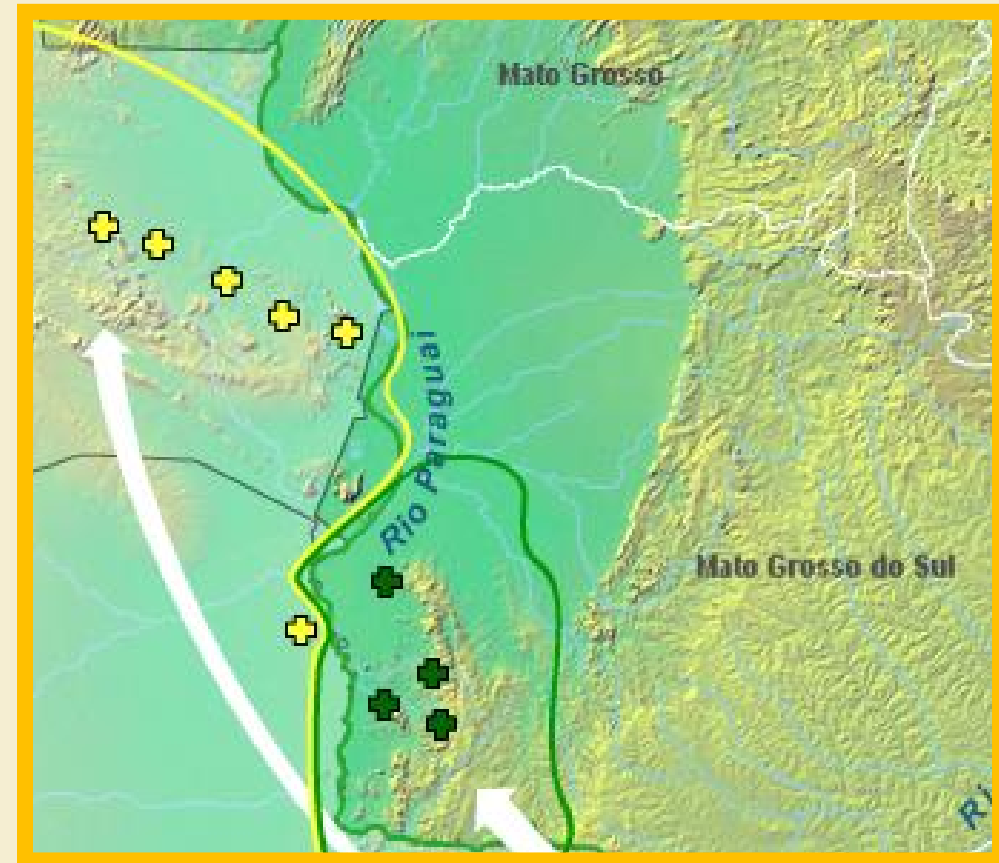
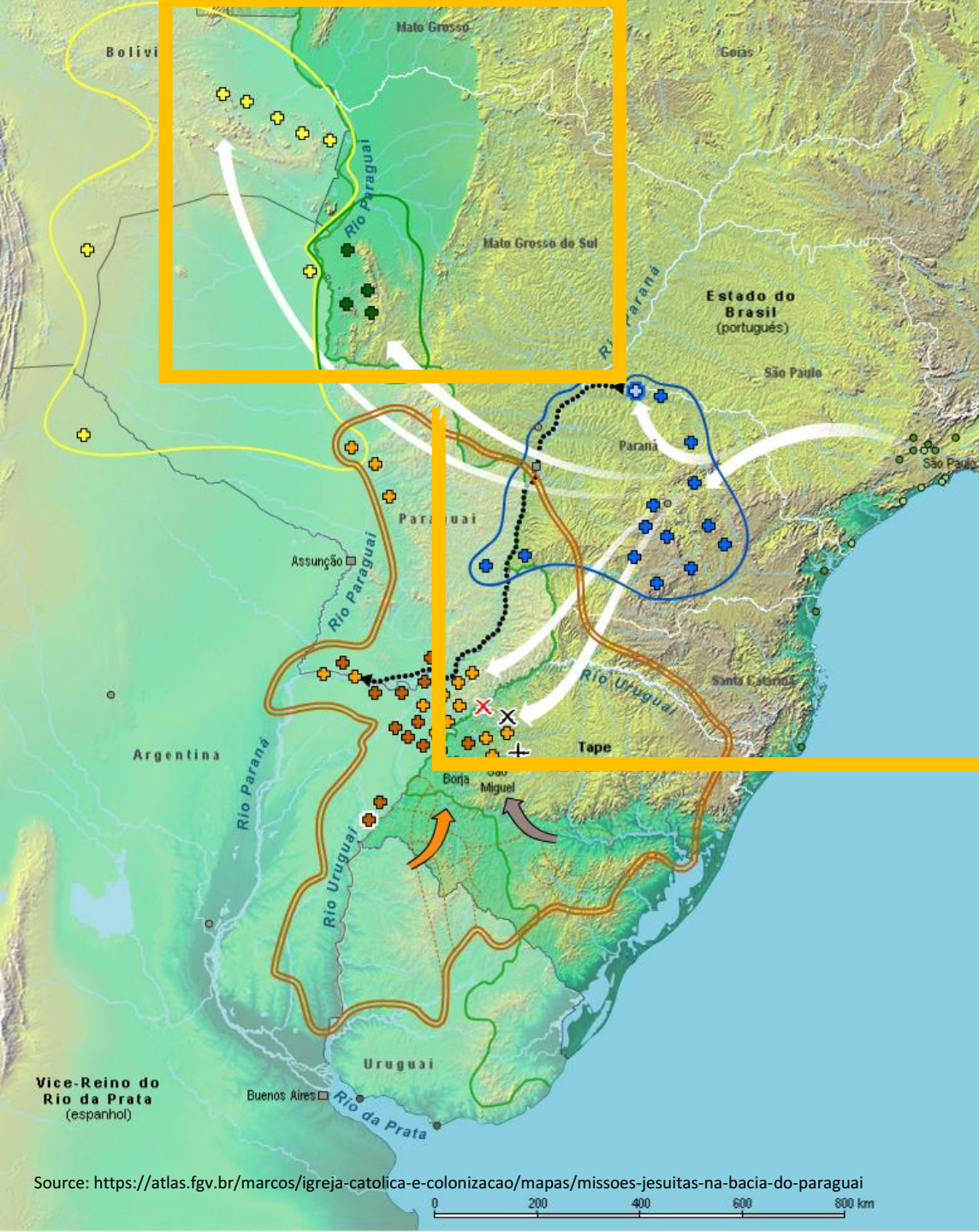
- **lingua franca(s)?**
 - la langue guarayú (varae) → Guarani
 - la langue des Chané → an Arawakan language, the same as Terena according to Carvalho 2016.
 - la langue gorgotoqua/gorgotaque → probably, a Bororoan language: “otuqui chiquitanizado o un dialecto chiquito otuquizado” (Combès 2012), extinct.



Jesuit Missions in the Pantanal

Reductions of Chiquitos 1691-1767 (yellow on the map)

Reductions of Itatin 1631-1659 (green on the map)



Homogenizing function of Jesuit Missions

“El nacimiento de la etnia chiquitana, tal como la conocemos hoy, se remonta al siglo XVIII y a la acción homogeneizadora de los padres jesuitas, que concentraron a las diversas “parcialidades” en las reducciones e impusieron el chiquito como lengua franca.”

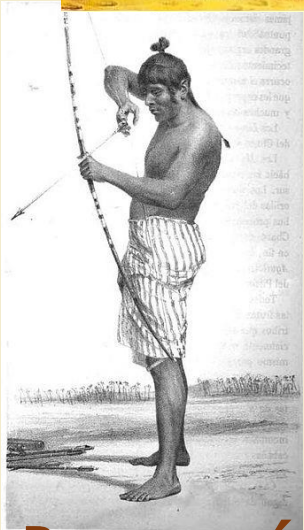
(Combès 2012: 208)



16th up to 19th c.: Indigenous armed resistance



Guaicuru



Payaguá



Guató



Debret 1834.
Soldados índios da província de
Curitiba escoltando "selvagens"

Maloqueiros, mamalucos
or slave raiders from São Paulo



Paraguayan War (1864-1870)

16th up to 19th c.: Indigenous armed resistance

“En el intervalo de los 250 años desde su primer encuentro con los Españoles hasta la fecha de su establecimiento en la Asunción los Payaguá septentrionales ó Sarigués han intranquilizado en gran escala el tráfico en el Rio Paraguay y sus afluentes cometiendo muchas violencias contra los Españoles y los Portugueses de modo que varias veces fueron mandadas expediciones para castigarlos.”

(Schmidt 1949: 175)

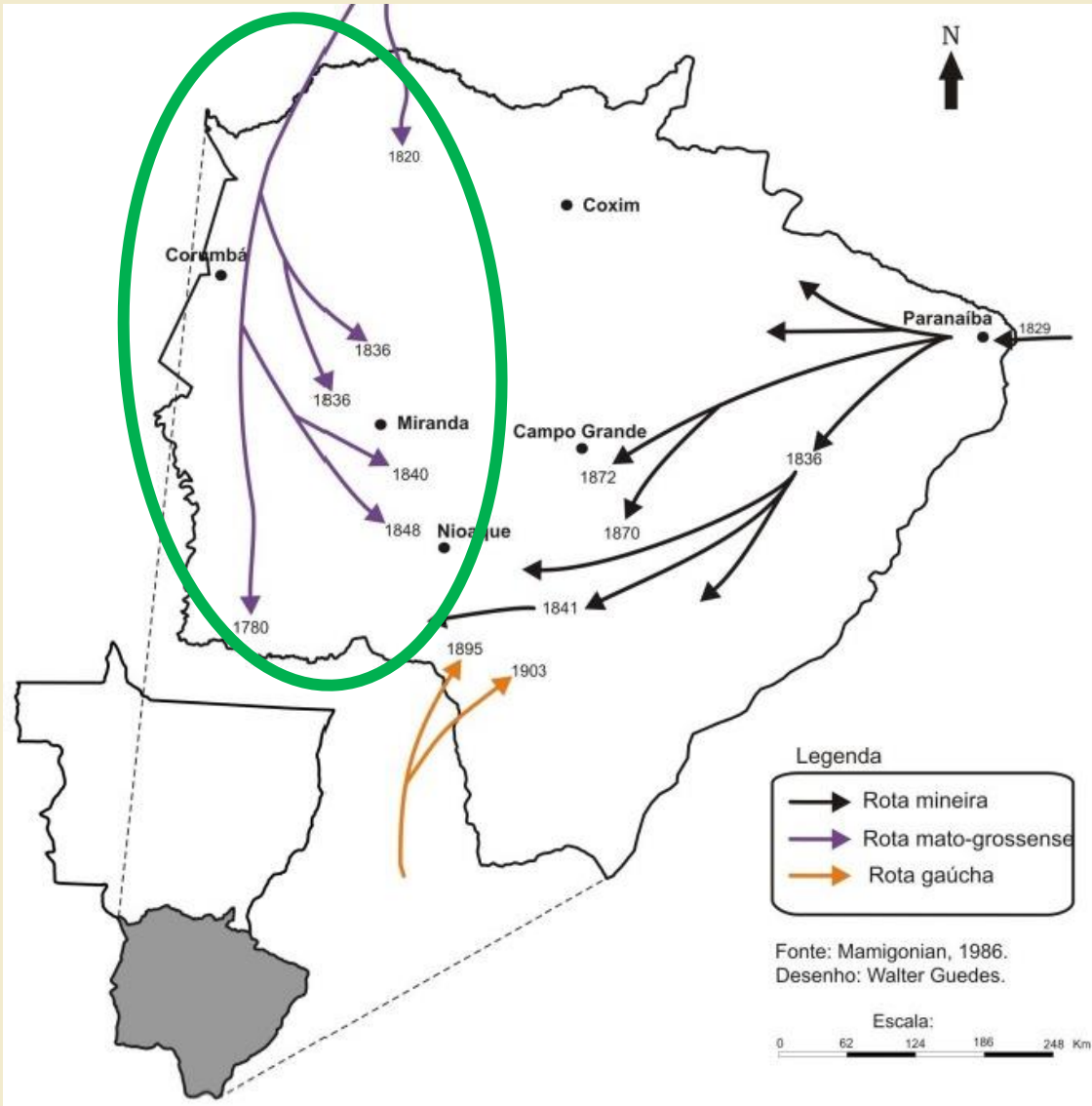
“Graças ao equino puderam fazer-se temidos, os guaicurus, dos demais indígenas e não menos dos europeus e descendentes de europeus: ‘Pouco faltou para que exterminassem todos os espanhóis do Paraguai’, escreveu Azara.”

(Holanda 2014: 85)

Late 18th c. – the Payaguá move to Asunción, the capital of Paraguay

1791 – Peace treaty between the Guaicuru (Kadiwéu) and the Portuguese Crown

19th c.: Expansion of cattle farms in the Pantanal



“Remaining [indigenous] groups were incorporated to the cattle production system and maintained semi-independent exchange relations with landlords [...] they received spirit and money for their work and presents in exchange for their women. By the end of the century [...] they are dispersed and rather mixed with the local population.”

(Montero (2012: 96) on the Bororo in the 19th c.)

Bororos da campanha

Coroados

Guatós

Caiapós

Guaicurus-guatiedéus
Guanás-quiniquinaus
Guanás

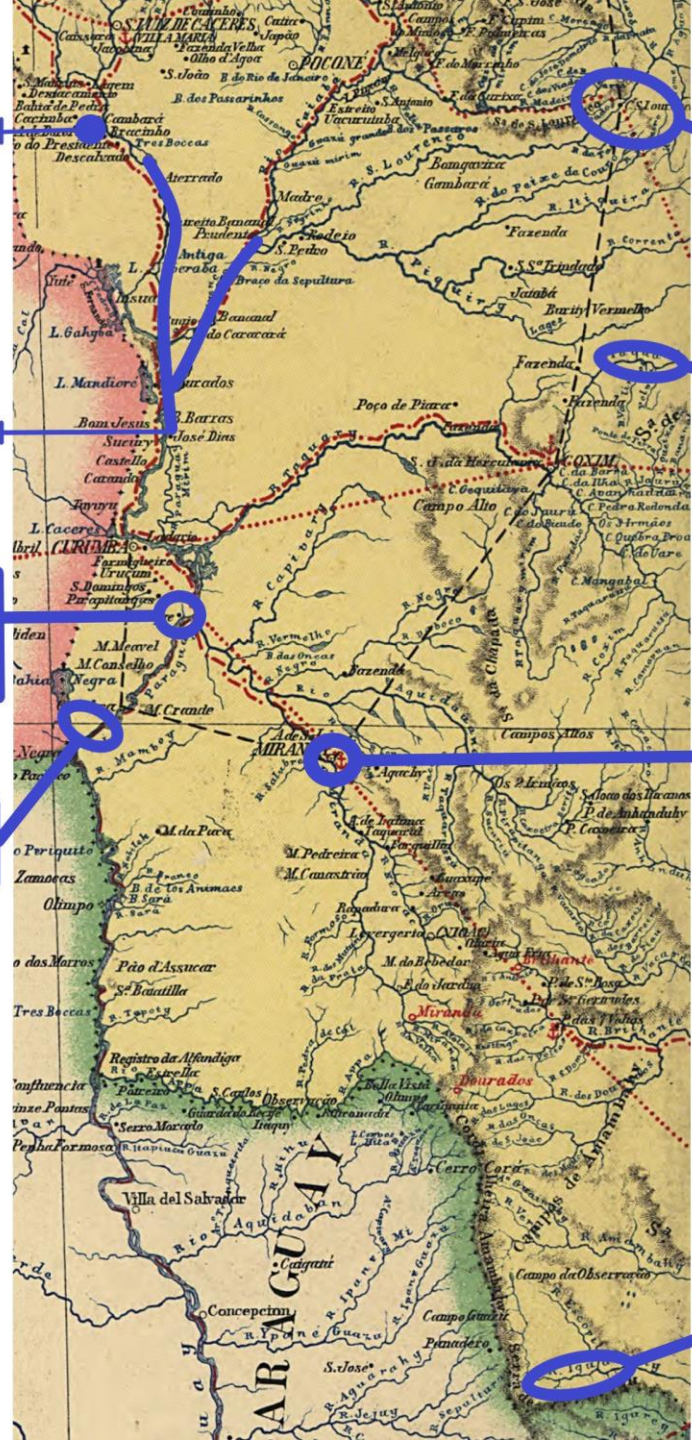
Guaicurus-beaquéus
Guaicurus-cologuéus
Guanás-quiniquinaus
Guanás-terenas
Guanás-laianas
Guaxis

Guaicurus-cadiuéus
Chamacocos

Caiuás

“Notícias sobre os índios de Mato Grosso” (1848)

Ethnic groups of the Pantanal





Few understand and speak Portuguese:
Chamacocos

Some understand and speak Portuguese:
Bororos da campanha

Almost all understand Portuguese but few speak it:
Guaicurus-guatiedéus, Guaicurus-beaquéus

Most understand Portuguese and some speak it:
Guaicurus-cadiuéus

Most understand Portuguese and many adults speak it:
Guatós

Most / almost all understand and speak Portuguese:
Guanás, Caiapós

“Notícias sobre os índios
de Mato Grosso” (1848)

Command of Portuguese
among Pantanal ethnic
groups

Ethnolinguistic ideologies among the *Ejiwajegi* (aka Kadiwéu) of the early 20th c.



“[...] we had to face their strong desire of becoming real Brazilians, of no longer being “bugres”, as the Indian are called in Brazil and the Kadiwéu themselves call the Chamococo [...] Due to this mood, during our entire stay, we only could listen to the Kadiwéu story of origin once [...] several times, I noticed that facts [about Kadiwéu customs] which could seem strange or funny to a white man were reported in a moderated way or even denied by my interlocutor.”

(Fjelstrup 2005 [1914]: 332)

Ethnolinguistic ideologies among the Guató

“I have tried in the most different ways to make them dictate narratives to me, I have made the greatest promises, but they always answered me shortly ‘não tem mais’ (‘there are no such stories anymore’)”.

(Schmidt 1905: 300)



“A gente fala parece que tá mentindo né. Não é mentira não, é verdade mesmo. Se fosse mentira, o mais velho não contava isso não, contou porque é verdade. Não é de agora, foi no começo do mundo.”

(Vicente da Silva, 2020, after telling a Guató myth)

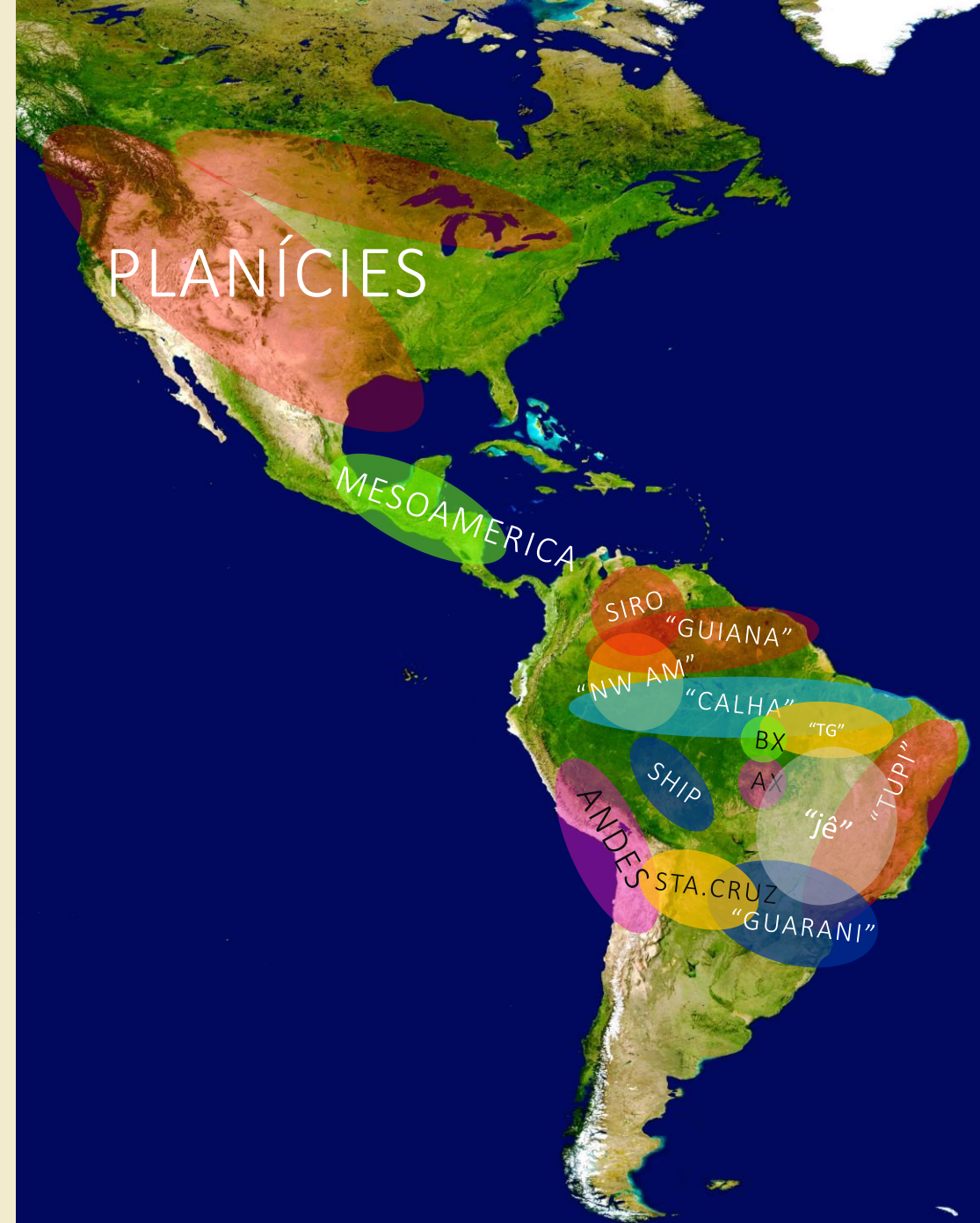
Final considerations

- Pantanal was a multiethnic and multilingual region. For centuries, its diversity has been attacked by gold seekers, missionaries, slave raiders, landlords, governments etc. (not to mention diseases).
- Pantanal linguistic history is largely unknown: “our knowledge of the historically attested ethnic and cultural variation in the **Pantanal-Chaco-Paraguay region** is much more complete than our current understanding of the properly linguistic diversity” (Carvalho 2016).
- Very few studies on language contact in the Pantanal:
 - Kadiwéu and Guató – Rodrigues 1983
 - Kadiwéu, Bororo and Mataco (Wichí) – Nonato & Sandalo 2007
 - Kadiwéu and Terena – Carvalho 2018
- Historical documents waiting for analysis (ex., wordlists collected by Johann Natterer)

“Pan-ameríndia”: a multilingual continent

“I ask the historian to look upon Indian America as a kind of Middle Ages which lacked a Rome: a confused mass that emerged from a long-established, doubtless very loosely textured syncretism, which for many centuries had contained at one and the same time centers of advanced civilization and savage peoples, centralizing tendencies and disruptive forces.”

(Lévi-Strauss 1964)





guaná



chiquito



xarayé

Goko magadja gine! (Nós paramos aqui!)



chamacoco



guaiucuru



guaxi



bororo



guató



payaguá

References

CABEZA DE VACA, Álvaro Núñez. 2009 [1555]. Naufrágios & comentários. Porto Alegre: L&PM.

CARVALHO, Fernando O. de. 2016. Terena, Chané, Guaná and Kinikinau are one and the same language: Setting the Record Straight on Southern Arawak Linguistic Diversity. LIAMES, 16(1). 39–57.

CARVALHO, Fernando O. de. 2018. Arawakan-Guaicuruan Language Contact in the South American Chaco. International Journal of American Linguistics, 84(2). 243–63.

COMBÈS, Isabelle. 2012. Susnik y los gorgotoquis. Efervescencia étnica en la Chiquitania (Oriente boliviano). INDIANA, 29. 201–220.

FERREIRA, Joaquim Alves. 2011 [1848]. Notícia sobre os índios de Mato Grosso. In S. Cardoso Ayala & Feliciano Simon (eds.), Álbum Gráfico do Estado de Mato Grosso, vol. 1, 179–200. Campo Grande: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Mato Grosso do Sul.

FJELSTRUP, Theodor. 2005 [1914]. Kadiuveo. 324–345. Berezkin Yu. E. (ed.). Aborigeny Ameriki: predmety i predstavleniya. Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii. Saint-Petersburg.

GUEDES DA SILVA, Walter. 2011. O processo de integração produtiva da região de Dourados à economia nacional. PhD dissertation. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo.

HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. 2014. Monções e Capítulos de expansão paulista. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. 1964. The raw and the cooked. Introduction to a science of mythology. I. New York: Harper and Row.

MÉTRAUX, Alfred. 1929. Un ancien document peu connu sur les Guarayú de la Bolivie orientale. Missio in Provinciam Sanctae Crucis in Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu 1589. Anthropos, 24. 913– 941.

References

MONTERO, Paula. 2012. Selvagens, civilizados, autênticos: A produção das diferenças nas etnografias salesianas (1920-1970). São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo.

NIKULIN, Andrey. 2020. Proto-Macro-Jê: um estudo reconstrutivo. PhD thesis, Universidade de Brasília.

NONATO, Rafael. 2008. Ainore Boe egore: um estudo descritivo da língua bororo e consequências para a teoria de caso e concordância. MA thesis, UNICAMP.

NONATO, Rafael; SANDALO, Filomena. 2007. Uma comparação gramatical, fonológica e lexical entre as famílias Guaikurú, Mataco e Bororo: um caso de difusão areal? Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas, 2(2). 91-107.

OLIVEIRA, Gabriel B. V. de. 2017. Língua Kinikinau – Descrição de aspectos sociolinguísticos e fonológicos. MA thesis. Dourados: Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados.

RODRIGUES, Aryon Dall'Igna. 1983. Typological parallelism due to social contact: Guató and Kadiwéu. In Amy Dahlstrom, Claudia Brugman, Monica Macaulay (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society. 218-222.

SANDALO, Filomena. 2017. Uma nota sobre medir e contar com palavras emprestadas do português no kadiwéu. Linguística, 13(3). 110-126.

SCHMIDEL, Ulrich. [1567]. Reise in der Neuen Welt. Hesse & Becker: Leipzig.

SCHMIDT, Max. 1905. Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

SCHMIDT, Max. 1914. Die Guato und ihr Gebiet. Ethnologische und archäologische Ergebnisse der Expedition zum Caracara-Fluss in Matto-Grosso. Baessler-Archiv: Beiträge zur Völkerkunde, 4. 251-283.

SCHMIDT, Max. 1949. Los payaguá. Revista do Museu Paulista, 3. 129-269.

SUMAIÓ, P. A. 2014. Sinalizando com os Terena: um estudo do uso da libras e de sinais nativos por indígenas surdos. MA thesis. Araraquara: UNESP.